5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured.

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him,

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

501 at least one other zone. In all the specimens seen there was a complete absence
591 of simple angular-geometric designs of the house post type. The designs used were selected about equally from those regularly used for tattooing and bowl carving. Tiki faces and even flattened figures were noticed in a few paddles. Edge-Partington (20, p. 5) shows a paddle having a design carved on the inner side of the blade and two heads in high relief on the outer side.

It would appear that paddle designs did not constitute a distinct class. All the specimens studied are more or less recent, however, and it is quite possible that there were originally distinctive paddle designs which have been gradually overlaid or lost. In many of the commercial specimens the terminal knob is decorated with very simple angular-geometric figures like those carved on house posts, but it is impossible to say whether the practice is ancient.

BAILERS

501 The constant leaking of a built up canoe made the bailer a necessary part of its equipment, and bailers of the ancient form are still in constant use throughout the group. These bailers are made of *mio* or temanu wood, and are shaped like a sugar scoop with the handle reversed, that is, projecting forward over the cavity. The top of the bailer is perfectly flat, the upper side of the handle being flush with the edges of the scoop. The bottom is also flat, rounding up gradually in the rear. The forward edge of the scoop is straight, the upper corners being rounded off. In ancient times some bailers were carved, but no decorated examples were seen. (See Pl. XLIII, *D* and *E*.)

CANOE MODELS

Numerous references have been made in the course of this paper to canoe models. At the present time many of these models are made for sale to Europeans. The industry centers in Fatu Hiva. It is certain that models were also made in early times, and there is mention of their use in connection with religious ceremonies. The modern models are elaborately carved all over; the designs used are borrowed from tattooing and bowl carving. (See Pl. XLIV, *B*.) The designs used upon the superstructure are usually simple angular-geometric motifs of the sort said to have been used upon the actual canoes, although in the recent specimens there is a tendency to apply curvilinear designs to these parts also, especially to the side planks. Many of the recent examples are made of *hutu* wood, treated by the method mentioned in connection with the paddles.

The desire for quantity production has led in the newer models to a lack of accuracy in the proportions of the various parts and the omission of all details not visible when the canoe is assembled. They can therefore serve as a guide only to the general form of the ancient craft. The really old models

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

represented by two sets of curved toothed grooves set end to end. The whole lower half of the figure is plain and was probably intended to represent the mouth. 531X

The noses on the tiki faces are of the conventional tiki type, but some of them are much longer than others. One war club (No. E, 5031, Peabody Museum) shows the nostrils detached from the rest of the features although in proper position. This same club shows a nose on the second tiki face which consists of concentric semi-ovals closed at the bottom, a form more characteristic of a *mata*. The ears are present in some of the tikis and absent in others. When present they are invariably represented by double curvilinear spirals.

The lower of the three divisions, which united represent the mouth of the large tiki, is filled with a lot of small detail carving consisting of short vertical and longer horizontal parallel lines, simple angular fretwork (Pl. IV, *h*), zigzags, interlocking triangles with rounded apexes filled with curves roughly parallel to the sides of the triangles and having innumerable transverse lines, plam leaf motifs, concentric circles with and without a groove in the center, concentric ovals and half ovals pierced by a straight groove, quarter sections of concentric ovals, concentric squares pierced on one side, single and double broad hooks, and angular and curvilinear spirals. In several clubs a more or less symmetrical effect is achieved in this band by the presence of two long, narrow grooves in horizontal position and centrally located, each ending in a pierced oval at the outer edge of the club and frequently having a larger pierced oval directly above and below the long grooves, the remaining space being variously filled.

Designs on Modern War Clubs

The war clubs made in recent times for trade and for the tourists are inferior to the older specimens in quality of carving and in simplicity and effectiveness of decoration. Even the shape of the clubs has degenerated. Every square inch of available space on the sides of the heads of the modern war clubs is carved, and the tiki, which is the central concept in the decoration of the ancient clubs, is poorly delineated. A greatly elongated forehead has become the center of decoration and the eyes have been shoved down and brought closer together. In place of small tiki heads carved in the half round, the modern clubs show oblong-shaped projecting knobs with tiki faces carved in low relief on the front surface, or round, undecorated knobs. A similar knob represents the nose, and the ears—undecorated in the older specimens—are elaborately carved in angular geometric designs. As representation of a mouth, the wide carved [439 411]

9: Greiner E-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

531X

Fig. 1. Drawings showing the development of the *pokaa* design.

The *pokaa* (p. 8) is found in so many variant forms on war clubs as to merit special attention. Fig. 1 shows twelve *pokaa* arranged in order of simplicity to demonstrate a possible line of development; *a* shows the simplest and most typical form. In *b* the same form is shown but with a short tongue extending down from the center of the arch; in *c* the tongue is longer, and in *d* the ends of the *pokaa* are recurved inward and upward and a tongue is lacking; *e* shows the arch broken in the center; *f* has a vertical line and dot between the arms of the figure; *g*, *h* and *j* show steps in the development of a spiral; *k* is a combination of *a* and *b*; *l* represents in reality two figures like that shown in *k*, placed back to back and connected by a straight groove (a marked similarity to the under-arm tattoo motif); and *m* differs from *l* only in having a rectangular outer edge.

A number of angular geometric and curvilinear elements and motifs are used as border patterns and as fill on modern war clubs, but the outstanding designs employed are the tiki faces, the isolated eyes with one or two sets of ears attached, the naturalistic representations of insects, and the variant forms of the *pokaa*.

Designs on Bowls

The Marquesans have extended their highly developed wood-working technique to the decoration of bowls. One fine old specimen (Pl. XIV) shows a predominance of curvilinear designs while another, a large and much weathered feast bowl (Pl. XIII) shows an even stronger predominance of angular geometric housepost designs. The more recently made specimens show coarse, wide lines, giving a heavier effect, and in their carvings angular geometric designs are employed as much as the curvilinear patterns. The bowls carved for commercial purposes at the present time show very open but coarse angular geometric designs. Their decoration appears to have occupied only the time necessary to produce a salable article.

[445 439]

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

least signs of anchorage. Some canoes put off from these places, and followed them down the coast. 133

At length, having come before the port they were in search of, they cast anchor. This was no sooner done, than about thirty or forty of the natives came off in ten or twelve canoes; but it required some address to get them alongside. At last a hatchet and some spike-nails induced the people in one canoe to come under the quarter-gallery; after which all the others put alongside, and having exchanged some bread-fruit and fish for small nails, retired on shore. 648

Very early next morning, the natives visited them again in much greater numbers than before; bringing with them bread-fruit, plantains, and one pig, all of which they exchanged. But in this traffic they would frequently keep their goods and make no return, till at last the Captain was obliged to fire a musket ball over one man who had several times served them in this manner; after which they dealt more fairly, and soon after several of them came on board. As the Captain was going in a boat, to look for a more convenient place to moor the ship in, he observed too many of the natives on board, and advised the officers to be on their guard. He had hardly got into the boat, before he was told they had stolen one of the iron stanchions, and were making off with it. He ordered them to fire over the canoe, but not to kill any one; but the natives made too much noise for him to be heard, and the unhappy thief was killed at the third shot. 648 439

At this sad accident, all the natives retired with precipitation. The Captain followed them into the bay, and prevailed upon the people in one canoe to come alongside the boat, and receive some nails, and other things which he gave them. One would have thought that the natives by this time would have been so sensible of the effect of firearms, as not to have provoked them to fire upon them any more; but the event proved otherwise. For the boat had no sooner left the kedge anchor, than two men in the canoe put off from the shore, took hold of the buoy rope, and attempted to drag it ashore, little considering what was fast to it. The Captain ordered a musket to be fired at them. The ball fell short, and they took not the least notice of it; but a second having passed over them, they let go the buoy and made for the shore. This was the last shot they had occasion to fire at any of them while they lay at this place. 648

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 439 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/25 cont./

of the girls. It is often the grandmother who administers the vaginal astringent to a young girl, further instructing her in techniques of intercourse and more general matters of sexual behavior.

One of the major themes in Marquesan society is that of bodily cleanliness. Bathing is quite frequent as sensitivity to body odor and dirt is extreme. Beside bathing, a large number of cosmetics are used to suppress any odor that might arise. Foremost is the native pani, or coconut oil, which is scented with a variety of flowers and oil of sandal wood. Flowers themselves are also used, most important being /26/ the tia'e (Gardenia tahitiensis). Frangipani (tipanie'e) are the flower of the dead in the Marquesas, and therefore are never used for adornment. Besides these, there are store-bought perfume and hair pomade, the most popular of which is Yardley's solidified Brilliantine, which is used with abandon in such quantities that only the harshest soaps will remove it from the hair.

Genital cleanliness is extremely important for Marquesans. By the time of puberty it is well impressed on both boys and girls alike. Very scrupulus attention is paid to cleaning beneath the foreskins (ki'i) of males. As the extensive sexual activity of the boys prior to this time has rendered the foreskin flexible, this aspect of cleanliness usually presents no problem. An expression of the attitude toward genital cleanliness is found in the insult: pi'au'ota -- your stinking foreskin filth), which is an extremely serious affront when uttered in anger.

For girls, constant bathing and the application of vaginal astringents (which terminates at this time), are emphasized.

The male's passage of puberty is marked by circumcision (tehe) which usually occurs between the ages of 12 and 14. It is not looked upon primarily as a necessity for personal hygiene, as that is possible to maintain without surgical aid, as noted above. No instances of infection necessitating circumcision were ever recorded. Rather, it is thought of as a milestone in male developing, with a secondary hygenic

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable